

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.314  
18 July 1967  
ENGLISH

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FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH MEETING  
held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Tuesday, 18 July 1967, at 10.30 a.m.

THE UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN

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COLLECTION

Chairman:

Mr. J. CASTAÑEDA (Mexico)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. A.F. AZEREDO da SILVEIRA  
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA  
Mr. S. de QUEIROZ DUARTE

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV  
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV  
Mr. T. DAMIANOV  
Mr. D. KOSTOV

Burma:

U MAUNG MAUNG  
U KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS  
Mr. C.J. MARSHALL  
Mr. J.R. MORDEN

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. V. VAJNAR  
Mr. J. STRUCKA

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE

India:

Mr. V.C. TRIVEDI  
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. R. CARACCILO  
Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI  
Mr. E. FRANCO  
Mr. F. SORO

Mexico:

Mr. J. CASTANEDA  
Miss E. AGUIRRE

Nigeria:

Alhaji SULE KOLO

Poland:

Mr. J. GOLDBLAT  
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO

Mr. O. IONESCO

Mr. A. CORCIANU

Mr. C. MITRAN

Sweden:

Mr. A. EDELSTAM

Mr. R. BOMAN

Mr. U. ERICSSON

Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN

Mr. V.P. SUSLOV

Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF

Mr. A. OSMAN

Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Sir Harold BEELEY

Mr. I.F. PORTER

Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. G. BUNN

Mr. C. GLEYSTEEN

Mr. A. NEIDLE

Special Representative of the  
Secretary-General

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative  
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Mexico)(translation from Spanish): I declare open the three hundred and fourteenth plenary meeting of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. I have no names on my list of speakers for today. Does any representative wish to make a statement?
2. Mr. TRIVEDI (India): I thought that, particularly as there is no speaker, I might say a few words this morning for two or three reasons. One reason is, Mr. Chairman, out of respect for you, to see that something that is very dear to your heart and to our hearts is put before the Committee this morning. Another is to welcome the representative of Italy on behalf of the Indian delegation and to express our wishes for his constructive co-operation -- a co-operation which, of course, we always expect from the representatives of that great country -- particularly as his predecessor has made such a lasting impression on our Committee's deliberations.
3. I thought that I might comment briefly on a basic issue, namely that when we are talking of measures of non-armament we must never conceive of those measures except in the integral concept of disarmament. Recently considerable attention has been paid to a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which is, as we all know, a measure of non-armament. There have been statements recently from the highest sources, and at our 311th meeting a statement was made by the representative of Canada about a certain restraint on conventional weapons, particularly for small countries. I think that both those measures are healthy, wholesome and good measures, and that we should certainly cultivate them. We have been considering a draft treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons for a long time. We hope we shall be successful, and I think the points raised by various delegations, and particularly by the representative of Canada, merit special attention.
4. But, as the Indian delegation said at our meeting of 23 May in the context of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, all these measures, particularly measures of non-armament, must be conceived of in the context of disarmament and not as isolated measures to be imposed on some countries or some regions only (ENDC/PV.298, paras. 8 et seq.). Otherwise, they will do more harm than good; otherwise, our basic concept -- the concept that was enshrined in the eight agreed principles (ENDC/5) on the basis of which we have been asked by the General Assembly to negotiate various measures in this Committee -- and the issues of security, of balance and of advantage to certain groups of States will all crop up.

(Mr. Trivedi, India)

5. As the history of negotiation goes, the concept of general and complete disarmament -- total and comprehensive disarmament -- is to some extent a recent concept. Even the United Nations Charter talks more in terms of limitation or regulation of armaments. As we know, the word "disarmament" appears only twice in the Charter, and both times it is associated with the phrase "regulation of armaments" (Articles 11, 47). In fact in one place it is even qualified as "possible" disarmament. It was only when the atomic weapons were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the signing of the United Nations Charter at San Francisco that the international community realized the implications of this new weapon of terror and began to see the need for total and comprehensive disarmament rather than just regulation of armaments or the use of arms in common defence, which was the concept normally associated with the United Nations Charter.

6. That is why the very first resolution of the United Nations -- General Assembly resolution 1(I) -- talked of controlling atomic energy and eliminating atomic weapons. It took some time for the international community to arrive at the objective of resolution 1378(XIV), which established general and complete disarmament under effective international control as the objective of the international community. But, having reached that stage, the peoples of the world have been demanding that that should remain the objective; and I think we should not lose sight of this fact.

7. By all means let us talk of regulation of armaments -- universally; by all means let us talk of non-armament -- universally; by all means let us talk of arms restraint and arms control -- universally. But any attempt to impose non-armament particularly on unarmed countries, and any tendency to talk only in terms of imposing non-armament on some countries -- weak countries, countries which have faced, are facing and will face threats to their security and loss or occupation of their territory, countries which face threats to their independence and territorial integrity, countries whose security is in danger -- is, to use an American phrase, "counter-productive".

8. As I said before, disarmament cannot be achieved overnight. It is a goal which took a long time to establish and it will take a long time to attain. We shall need patience and perseverance. We shall take a long time to reach agreements on the various issues arising out of measures of disarmament and measures conducive to general and complete disarmament. So it is necessary to

(Mr. Trivedi, India)

talk of other measures -- partial measures, collateral measures; -- but these measures must always be conceived of, first, in a universal manner, and secondly within an integral concept of general and complete disarmament.

9. The CHAIRMAN (Mexico)(translation from Spanish): Before we continue our work, I should like to say a few words in fulfilment of the very pleasant duty of welcoming to our Committee the new head of the Italian delegation, His Excellency Ambassador Roberto Caracciolo. The Italian delegation has always played an active, important and constructive part in our Committee's discussions. I am sure that it will continue to do so under the skilful direction of its new representative. As Chairman of today's meeting, as well as on behalf of all members of the Committee and on behalf of the Mexican delegation, I have very great pleasure in welcoming Ambassador Roberto Caracciolo, the new representative of Italy.

10. Mr. BUNN (United States of America): I also am very pleased to welcome Ambassador Roberto Caracciolo to our Committee today on behalf of the United States delegation. We know that he has had a long and distinguished career as his country's Ambassador to Indonesia and, most recently, to Luxembourg, where he was also accredited to the European Coal and Steel Community. We are sure that we shall all profit from our new Italian colleague's experience in that international organization; and I am confident that he will bring to our meetings the same constructive assistance as his predecessor.

11. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): As co-Chairman of the Committee and as head of the Soviet delegation, and also on behalf of a number of delegations here in the Committee, I wish to welcome the representative of Italy, Ambassador Roberto Caracciolo. I should like to wish the newly-appointed representative of Italy success in his activities in this new field and to express the hope that those activities will be fruitful and constructive in the solution of the problems entrusted to our Committee for consideration.

12. Mr. CARACCILOLO (Italy)(translation from French): Mr. Chairman, I thank you, both as Chairman of today's meeting and as representative of Mexico, and I thank also Mr. Trivedi, the representative of India, Mr. Bunn, the representative of the United States, and Mr. Roshchin, the representative of the Soviet Union, for the

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

kind words that have been addressed to me. I am all the more grateful because I think I detect in your words an earnest of the goodwill which I hope you will be kind enough to extend to me in the accomplishment of my task.

13. That goodwill, which you have also displayed so generously to my predecessor, is particularly necessary to me and I should be at a loss without it. I am indeed conscious of the honour that has befallen me of sitting in this Committee composed of eminent persons whose fame reaches far beyond their national borders. I am also conscious of the fact that I do not possess an experience equal to yours in the particular sphere with which this Committee is concerned. Hence my only claim to be among you resides in the confidence which my Government has deemed fit to place in me after thirty-four years in its service and, for my part, I can assure you that it is my intention to make every effort to justify that confidence.

14. It has fallen to me during my career to take part in international and collective work aimed at bringing the nations closer together in a common cause and in furtherance of a common interest. But, of all the tasks entrusted to international bodies, the task of this Committee is undoubtedly the noblest and loftiest, because it is dedicated to the selfless quest for the greatest good of humanity -- that is, peace. I shall not be telling you anything new in speaking of the importance which my Government attaches to the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Italian public opinion is also unanimous in according the greatest interest to the aims of this Committee. As a result, the Geneva discussions are followed with the keenest attention by all political and social circles in my country.

15. As regards the specific work on the problem of non-proliferation with a view to the conclusion of a treaty, the favourable attitude of my Government is well known to you. Italy's position on the various technical problems posed by the conclusion of such a treaty has been explained again to you recently by my predecessor (ENDC/PV.305) and therefore it seems to me superfluous to repeat it. The remarks and suggestions made by the Italian delegation during these past few years show, moreover, the spirit in which Italy is taking part in this work and its desire to arrive at the conclusion of a treaty that would be at the same time as open as possible and acceptable to the greatest number of States.

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

16. In this connexion, may I quote from the statement made on 13 July by the Italian Prime Minister, Mr. Aldo Moro, in the Chamber of Deputies during a debate on Italian foreign policy, the following passage referring to the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons?

"With respect to nuclear non-proliferation, I wish to reaffirm the Italian Government's favourable attitude to the conclusion of a treaty banning the dissemination of nuclear weapons in accordance with the fundamental elements of Italian foreign policy. Such a treaty would indeed contribute to the creation of the relaxed atmosphere necessary for progress along the path of disarmament leading to the peaceful coexistence of nations.

"The fundamental elements of our foreign policy to which I have just referred concern general nuclear disarmament, the continuance of the process of European unification, the guaranteeing of the free and non-discriminatory use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and lastly national security, which in turn calls for a treaty acceptable to the greatest number of States."

17. Before concluding, I should like to thank our two co-Chairmen for the efforts they are making in order to be able to submit a common text. I should also like to express the hope that the text may be presented as soon as possible, and at the same time to assure you that it will be studied by Italy in the constructive spirit and with the favourable attitude which I have had the honour to reaffirm.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 314th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Jorge Castañeda, **representative** of Mexico.

"Statements were made by the representatives of India, the United States, the Soviet Union and Italy and by the Chairman.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 20 July 1967, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 11.5 a.m.